

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 EB-07 CU-02 STR-04 OIC-02 ERDA-05 SCA-01 OES-03

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 282

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

USCINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2962

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - APRIL 21-25

1. SUMMARY. DESPITE A HECTIC WEEK OF INTENSE FORMAL AND
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INFORMAL ACTIVITY, CSCE IS STILL STUCK AT ABOUT THE SAME

PLACE IT WAS LAST WEEK. THERE WAS SOME PROGRESS IN PRINCIPLES AND CBMS, BUT VIRTUALLY NONE IN BASKET III, ALTHOUGH PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXT ON TOURISM WAS "MENTALLY" REGISTERED WHEN ITALIANS LIFTED THEIR RESERVE. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED FORWARD IN WORK ON TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH LEADING FROM PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES THEMSELVES. NATO ALLIES SIGNALLED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT YUGOSLAV SUGGESTION FOR LANGUAGE INDICATING THAT CBM COMMITMENTS HAVE BEEN ASSUMED ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS. CONFERENCE ATMOSPHERE GENERALLY GREW MORE INTENSE AS SOVIETS RAISED THE PRESSURE FOR AGREEMENT ON THEIR TERMS IN BASKET III AND ELSEWHERE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES AGREED THAT PACKAGE DEAL SENTENCE FOR FIRST PRINCIPLE WOULD BE "INTEGRATED IN THE FIRST PRINCIPLE, BEARING IN MIND ITS CLOSE SUBSTANTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THIS PRINCIPLE". THIS AGREEMENT, RECORDED IN JOURNAL, SATISFIED SOVIETS THAT PACKAGE DEAL SENTENCE WOULD BE PLACED HIGH UP IN PRINCIPLE, BUT LEFT UNTOUCHED THE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION OF HOW TO INTEGRATE IT. SOVIETS MADE CLEAR THEIR OPPOSITION TO AMENDING PACKAGE DEAL SENTENCE BUT ROMANIANS INSISTED ON INSERTING "FREELY" BEFORE "TO CHOOSE AND DEVELOP ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS." WITH DISCUSSION OF THIS PROBLEM THUS TEMPORARILY STALLED, DRAFTING BEGAN ON KEY TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH LEADING FROM PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES THEMSELVES. WEST RESISTED SOVIET PROPOSAL TO BEGIN WITH "SOLEMNLY DECLARE", IN VIEW OF ABSENCE OF THAT KIND OF WEIGHTY EXPRESSION FROM BASKET III PREAMBLE. USDEL RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH, LIKE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS, SHOULD DESCRIBE PRINCIPLES AS "PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS", A POINT WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED NEXT WEEK. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION DISCUSSION OF SWISS PAPER ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES DID NOT MAKE MUCH HEADWAY.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE'S DELIBERATIONS FOCUSED ON QUESTION OF NATURE OF COMMITMENT FOR NOTIFYING MILITARY MANEUVERS, PARTICULARLY ON SOVIET CONCEPT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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"VOLUNTARY BASIS". AT BEGINNING OF WEEK, ITALIANS PUT FORWARD WORKING PAPER (COORDINATED AMONG ALLIES) WHICH ESSENTIALLY REAFFIRMED ORIGINAL UK PROPOSAL ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT BUT ADDED VARIOUS ELEMENTS WHICH, WHILE REALLY INSUBSTANTIAL, APPEARED TO INCH TOWARD SOVIET POSITION. SOVIETS CRITICIZED PAPER FOR FAILURE TO EMPLOY TERM "VOLUNTARY BASIS" WHICH THEY SAID WAS INDISPENSABLE. YUGOSLAVS SUBSEQUENTLY SUGGESTED FORMULATION IN WHICH

THIS TERM WAS USED TO DESCRIBE MANNER IN WHICH COMMITMENT WAS ASSUMED RATHER THAN IMPLEMENTED. ALLIES AGREED AT CAUCUS TO SIGNAL WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER YUGOSLAV SUGGESTION AND TO PRESS SOVIETS TO RECIPROCATE BY AGREEING TO RESUME DISCUSSION OF PARAMETERS. THIS WAS DONE AT APRIL 25 PLENARY. SOVIET REACTION WAS, ON BALANCE, POSITIVE. THEY MADE CLEAR THAT YUGOSLAV IDEA DID NOT MEET THEIR REQUIREMENTS BUT TERMED ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER USE OF TERM "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN A FORMULATION A "STEP FORWARD". SOVIETS AGREED THAT SUBCOMMITTEE COULD SHIFT DISCUSSIONS NEXT WEEK TO PARAMETERS, BUT IT REMAINS BE SEEN WHETHER THEY WILL THEN REVEAL MAY NORE FLEXIBILITY ON THESE ISSUES.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- NO ACTIVITY THIS WEEK.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS TEXT ON TOURISM WAS MENTALLY REGISTERED WHEN ITALIAN DELEGATION, BOWING TO SOVIET PRESSURE, GAVE UP ITS ATTEMPT TO DELAY REGISTRATION PENDING A DECISION ON TITLES AND SUBTITLES FOR THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S TEXTS. ITALIANS NEVERTHELESS SAID THEIR FINAL APPROVAL OF TOURISM TEXT WOULD DEPEND ON AGREEMENT ON SATISFACTORY TITLES AND SUBTITLES. INFORMAL TALKS ON TRAVEL AND THE HUMAN CONTACTS INTRODUCTORY TEXT MADE NO PROGRESS. IN INFORMATION, INTENSIVE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS OF INTRODUCTORY TEXT AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS WERE ALSO UNPRODUCTIVE. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE INCHED TOWARD AGREEMENT ON INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE TO AGENDA ITEM COVERING CULTURAL EXCHANGES, AND SOVIETS AGREED TO FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF MINI-GROUP (INCLUDING USEL) TO SEEK TO BREAK IMPASSE ON MAJOR ISSUES OF INTEREST TO WEST. CONFIDENTIAL

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION REMAINED STALLED ON CONTROVERSIAL YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL PROVIDING FOR EDUCATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES "IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE". MEANWHILE, WESTERN DELS ARE CONSIDERING INFORMAL SOVIET SUGGESTION TO BREAK IMPASSE ON TEACHING METHODS BY DROPPING BOTH EC-NINE PROPOSAL FOR CONTACTS AMONG EDUCATORS AND USSR TEXT ON CONTENT OF TEXTBOOKS.

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- WORKING GROUP EASILY AGREED THAT FIRST THREE PARAS OF PREAMBLE FOR MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION WERE READY FOR REGISTRATION. SOVIETS BLOCKED FORMAL REGISTRATION, HOWEVER, PENDING AGREEMENT ON ENTIRE PREAMBLE. MALTESE ARE NOW EXPECTED TO INTRODUCE TOW, POSSIBLY THREE MORE PARAS WHICH THEY SAY SHOULD POSE NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III -- COORDINATING COMMITTEE DEBATE ON ORGANIZATION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS EVAPORATED IN GENERAL REALIZATION THAT DISPUTE OVER WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ONE OR SEVERAL SIGNATURES ON FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS WOULD NOT BE RESOLVED THROUGH OPEN DISCUSSION AT THIS JUNCTURE. MOST DELS ANTICIPATE FURTHER PRIVATE CONTACTS ON THIS PROBLEM AT A LATER DATE.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- HAVING FAILED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON FIRST ELEMENT OF OPERATIVE PART OF FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION, WORKING GROUP MOVED TO CONSIDERATION OF FOLLOW-UP MODALITIES. LENGTHY ROMANIAN CRITICISM OF NARROW FRENCH INTERPRETATIONS OF DANISH PROPOSAL TEMPORARILY SIDETRACKED THIS EFFORT, BUT SERVED TO HIGHLIGHT PROBLEMS WHICH DISCUSSION OF MODALITIES WILL SOON ENCOUNTER, FOR INSTANCE IN ATTEMPTING TO DEFINE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE DECISIONS.

9. COMMENT: CSCE BEGAN TO LOOK MORE AND MORE LIKE A HIGH-STAKES POKER GAME THIS WEEK, WITH CONCESSIONS AS CARDS AND STAKES CONSISTING OF THE TIMING OF STAGE III. THE SOVIETS ARE APPARENTLY STILL INTERESTED IN TRYING TO OBTAIN A THIRD STAGE TIMING REASONABLY CLOSE TO THE JUNE 30 DATE PROPOSED BY BREZHNEV, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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NOW APPEARS TO BE VIRTUALLY OUT OF THE QUESTION FROM A PRACTICAL POINT OF VIEW. MOST WESTERN DELEGATES THINK THE SOVIETS WILL BE PREPARED TO CONCLUDE MANY SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN EARLY MAY, TO ASSURE THE TIMING THEY WANT, AND THAT CONDITIONS FOR OBTAINING GOOD TEXTS FROM THE WESTERN POINT OF VIEW MAY BE OPTIMUM AT THAT MOMENT. UNTIL IT COMES, BOTH SIDES ARE QUITE EVIDENTLY PLAYING IT VERY TOUGH, ESPECIALLY IN BASKET III.

10. CHOOSING THE RIGHT MOMENT TO DEAL IS, HOWEVER, A MOST DIFFICULT AFFAIR. ALMOST EVERY DELEGATION HERE WOULD LIKE TO COMPLETE THE STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS IN TIME TO CONVENE STAGE III BEFORE THE EUROPEAN AUGUST HOLIDAY. EVEN IF THE CONFERENCE WERE TO ADVANCE VERY RAPIDLY, SUCH AN ACHIEVEMENT WILL NOW BE DIFFICULT, AND THIS IS BEGINNING TO WORRY MANY DELEGATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY THE SOVIETS, WHO WANT AN EARLY CONCLUSION BUT ARE NOT PREPARED TO GIVE MAJOR CONCESSIONS TO GET IT. THE RESULT OF THIS SITUATION IS GROWING PRESSURE ON ALL SIDES, MORE INTENSE WORK, AND A TENDENCY TO HANG TOUGH ON KEY ISSUES. END COMMENT.
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